

# The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MARCH 8, 1877.

## The Week.

THE Democratic filibusters kept up their fight against the Electoral count till the end, although it was known a week ago that their efforts would be unavailing. When the State of Vermont was reached, an attempt was made to introduce a paper purporting to be a second return and so get the State referred to the Commission, but this, of course, failed. They then determined to object to Virginia and West Virginia, but no Senator would sign the objections. Finally, after scenes of great excitement, the proceedings were closed by the counting of the vote of Wisconsin and the announcement, at 4.10 A.M. on Friday, by Mr. Ferry, that Hayes and Wheeler had received 185 votes, and were consequently elected.

President Hayes's inaugural address is in the main an amplification of his letter of acceptance, and must thus have had the charm of novelty for the Republican managers, as none of them during the canvass seemed to have any recollection of the letter or its contents. He opens by dwelling on the supreme importance of the pacification of the South, and as a means to this end mentions "honest and peaceful local self-government," recognizing and maintaining inviolate the rights of both races in hearty and loyal submission to the Constitution and the laws, and calls on men of all parties for their co-operation in the work of restoring the South. He does not indicate clearly what course he intends to pursue in the matter, but any vagueness there may be in his utterances is of the less consequence as he will be called on for immediate action on this question. Of the necessity of civil-service reform he speaks in the strongest way, and what he means by the term he makes perfectly clear—appointment for competency, and tenure during good behavior—and recommends an amendment to the Constitution extending the Presidential term to six years and forbidding re-election. As to foreign relations he expresses, with some simplicity, his reliance on arbitration as a means of evading all differences, and, touching lightly on the Presidential contest, endeavors to console the vanquished by the reflection that it was decided by the best tribunal that could be created for the purpose, and that if the result was not satisfactory it must be remembered that "human judgment is never unerring, and is rarely regarded as otherwise than wrong by the unsuccessful party." He concludes by praying, in the noble English of the Episcopal liturgy, "that all things may be so ordered and settled upon the best and surest foundation, that peace and happiness, truth and justice, religion and piety may be established among us for all generations." The address is a clear, modest, and sensible document, which promises nothing which reasonable men may not hope to see performed, and leaves nothing untouched of which mention was desirable.

The Cabinet at this writing is considered half formed. Of Mr. Evarts's accession to the State Department, in case of the Republican success, there has never been any doubt, so plainly was he marked out for it by his talents, services, and character. He has literally no competitor in the party. Mr. Sherman's appointment to the Treasury, on the other hand, coupled with the probability that he will be the ruling spirit of the new Administration, will cause more or less apprehension among the friends of reform—not enough certainly to make them withhold their support from the new Administration, but enough to make them a little watchful and uneasy. If Mr. Sherman has, during his long service in the Senate, been in favor of civil-service reform in any shape whatever, or hostile to the ordinary methods of political management, he has concealed it with a success which makes one fear that he is a

very timid man. Then the friends of sound currency cannot forget that though he has been on the whole in favor of a return to specie payments, he has dodged about so much, and been on such good terms with the inflationists, that nobody knew where to find him at any particular juncture. The supporters of the public credit, too, will remember with bitterness that when, in 1867, those two demagogues, Butler and Morton, alarmed the country by advocating the payment of the bonds in greenbacks, Mr. Sherman strengthened their influence by bringing in a bill for the conversion of the five-twenties into a five per cent. bond, and advising the bondholders, in an elaborate speech, to accept the reduction of interest without the option of being paid off, lest the followers of Butler and Morton should become uncontrollable, and a worse thing happen them. Those who believe, as we do, that Hayes's title to the Presidency is as good as a man can have under the circumstances in a government by law, will nevertheless see with regret in the present condition of the public mind the appearance at the head of his Cabinet of one of the "Visiting Statesmen," whose presence encouraged the Louisiana Returning Board in their iniquity, and who afterwards whitewashed them in a most disingenuous report. Mr. Hayes's best friends will be those least disposed to condone that most discreditable feature in the late conflict.

The remaining appointments, Messrs. Schurz, McCrary, and Key, will be received, we are sure, with hearty satisfaction, and as a strong indication of the sincerity of Mr. Hayes's professions. That he has put Mr. Schurz in the Cabinet speaks highly for his courage, and we have no doubt illustrates his gratitude also, for Schurz is the one man who took an active part in the late canvass whose labors did not help to destroy the Republican majority. No man has, therefore, on the lowest party ground, a better claim to honor and reward than he, and there is no man whose presence in the Cabinet will furnish the public with a better guarantee that Mr. Hayes's Administration is doing the work expected of it by those who voted for him. But we have no doubt that the fight with the politicians will begin over Mr. Schurz, and that Mr. Hayes's ability to keep him will show whether he is the man for whom an afflicted people has for eight years been praying. If he has confidence in the public, the greatest fame of the century except Lincoln's is within his reach; but if this fails him, and he cries aloud in the perilous places for the managers to take him by the hand, he will be the greatest failure in American history. Grant had at least his military career behind him.

Congress adjourned at noon on Sunday after a session of nearly twenty-four hours. All the appropriation bills went through, with the exception of the Army and the River and Harbor bills. The failure of the latter is of no particular moment, but as money will be needed for the support of the army by the end of May, a special session in the course of a few months is deemed unavoidable. The Forty-fourth Congress passed few general laws of much importance, but the list of the bills that failed is a long and noticeable one. No progress has been made with the Senate bills to compromise the difficulties between the Government and the Pacific railroads; the Bankrupt Act is still unrepealed; the bill to extend the time for completing the Northern Pacific road did not pass. The House bills for a further distribution of the Geneva award; for the restoration of the silver dollar; for the equalization of bounties; and for the transfer of Indian affairs to the War Department, all failed. The Texas and Pacific subsidy scheme got no further than a committee's favorable report could carry it, though it will, no doubt, be heard from as soon as Congress comes together again, when the Pacific and Brazilian Mail subsidies, which also failed, may be revived. Among the measures which failed were Mr. D. D. Field's *quo-warranto* bill, which received only sixty-six votes in the House.

The special session of the Senate began on Monday with the re-election of Mr. Ferry as President *pro tem.* and the swearing in the newly-elected Senators, nineteen in number, eleven Democrats and eight Republicans. A resolution was adopted that all disputed credentials should lie over till the next day, consequently the cases of Louisiana (Kellogg), Mississippi (Morgan and Lamar), and South Carolina (where Corbin and Butler are contestants for the single vacant seat), did not come up till Tuesday, when Spencer, of Alabama, tried in vain to get a couple of votes to exclude Mr. Lamar. Mr. Lamar was defended by Mr. Blaine as *prima-facie* elect, but merely as a cover for securing the admission of Kellogg without dispute. With the airs imported from the House he declaimed about the election of Hayes resting on identically the same basis as that of Packard, and challenged the Administration to recognize Nicholls. Mr. Blaine's account of what the Commission had decided in regard to the Louisiana Returning Board was contradicted by Mr. Thurman, and was contrary to the knowledge of every Senator, including Mr. Blaine himself. An exchange of incivilities between Blaine and Morton enlivened the debate. Governor Grover, of Oregon, did not appear on Monday to claim his seat.

The Democrats of the House have issued an address to "the American people," beginning with "a review of the events which have resulted in the election of Rutherford B. Hayes." Two facts, they say, stood out prominently in the canvass—first, that the Republican party sought to unify the North against "the solid South," and at the same time was busily engaged in dividing the votes of the South; second, that troops were sent to States in which "there was neither invasion nor insurrection to require them." This is true, but the conclusion drawn that "in depositing their ballots they enjoyed only such liberty as the army permitted" is ridiculous. They allege that 196 Tilden electors were chosen, and that he got more than "one million majority of the Caucasian race"; that on the day after the election the Chairman of the Republican National Committee announced, "although nothing had been learned of the election except the vote actually cast," that 184 Tilden and 185 Hayes electors had been chosen. The conclusion they draw from this is that "such an announcement could only have been made in pursuance of an arrangement to change the vote shown to have been given by the people." What they ought to have said was that "such an announcement justified the suspicion, etc.," which, we think, no candid man can deny. They then charge certain Florida and Louisiana Republicans with a conspiracy to cheat the Democrats out of the Presidency (at which, they say, leading Republicans connived), and J. Madison Wells with having actually sold the decision of the Returning Board to the Republicans after having offered it for \$200,000 to the Democrats. The latter of these accusations is, we believe, sufficiently proved; of the former there is no proof whatever. They recite the history of the Electoral Commission, maintain that its duty was to ascertain whether the election in the disputed States had been fair, and that the public expected it to do so; assert vigorously that fraud vitiates everything; draw a mournful picture of the probable consequences of the decision of the Commission; declare that Hayes has been "fraudulently elected" and is a "usurper," and call on the people not to acquiesce, and to take every opportunity of "expressing their horror of the outrage." The address is signed by Hurd of Ohio, Gibson of Louisiana, Abbott of Massachusetts, Singleton of Mississippi, and Lynde of Wisconsin. There is a great deal of truth in the document, and less than the usual amount of extravagant language; but the account of the Commission and its proceedings is highly evasive and unsatisfactory, and deprives the discourse of much of the weight to which on other grounds it would be entitled.

The Democratic papers have, since the announcement of the result of the count, devoted themselves chiefly to denunciation of the frauds and perjuries of the Republicans, to wails over the state to which they have brought the country, and to predictions of how the

Usurper will now proceed to ruin himself. A week or two of this kind of thing nobody has any right to find fault with, but we trust it will not be kept up too long. If the Democrats mean to make an effective opposition they ought not to dream for a moment that Hayes's "usurpation" will serve their turn for four years, or that they will be able to carry a majority of the States in 1880 because the election of 1876 was carried with the help of the Returning Boards. Nine-tenths of the people throughout the country are heartily tired of the dispute that has been going on for the last four months, and are disposed to judge of the new Administration, whatever they may think of the character of its title, by what it actually does. If the Democrats wish to retain as much of the public confidence as they have undoubtedly gained by their behavior during the winter, they must do it by accepting the situation, and proving that their late professions of a desire for reform sprang from a well-defined policy, which, whether in power or in opposition, they mean to try to carry out. They must insist on civil-service reform and revenue reform, and show themselves better reformers than the Republicans they oppose. They will not be afraid either, if they really have reform at heart, of alliances with men of the opposite party which tend to further reform, any more than the Southern leaders have been afraid of acting with the Republicans to secure a settlement of the Presidential dispute. They may rely upon it that they can now do nothing more pleasing to the Republicans than to employ themselves in denouncing the "usurper," because it distracts them from their proper business of watching carefully what the "usurper" is doing, and thus enables the latter's "wicked partners" (a long and heated campaign always increases the membership of the firm enormously) to cook the accounts, to make private contracts, to give themselves fat berths, and to reorganize the management of the concern in their own way.

The Silver Commission has made a majority and minority report, the former signed by Messrs. Bland, Groesbeck, Jones, Boggy, and Willard, the latter by Messrs. Boutwell and Gibson and Professor Bowen. The testimony taken is probably, for those who are interested in the question, a good deal more valuable than the reports, though it ought to be said that the accounts in circulation of the manner in which it was taken are not very favorable, inasmuch as they go to show that the majority went into the enquiry in search of a foregone conclusion, argued with the persons examined, and conducted the enquiry in the style of a lawyer trying a cause. The majority report maintains that the recent fall in the price of silver was not due to excessive production, as commonly supposed, but to the demonetization of silver by Germany and the United States and other countries, the diminution in the Asiatic demand for it, and the spread of exaggerated reports as to the yield of the Nevada mines; attributes to this demonetization the prevailing business depression all over the civilized world, denounces gold as a poor and variable standard, the supply of which is diminishing, and recommends the free coinage of both metals as legal-tender to any amount; but the signers are unable to agree upon the relation in which gold and silver should stand to each other, some proposing 15½ and the others 15%. The majority likewise allege that we cannot resume specie payments in gold alone, because there is not gold enough available for the purpose, and they recommend the use of silver also, for reasons which are apparently not intended to be humorous. One is that both "metals are found under our own flag," and because as soon as we made silver a legal tender we should be flooded with the demonetized silver of Europe, which some people think very dreadful, but which this majority think very desirable, for what is silver "but money and one of the precious metals?" In other words, the more silver we have the better, whatever may be its purchasing power; and they hold, moreover, that the fact that so many nations are adopting the gold standard is a reason why we should avoid it, as we could not succeed "in the disastrous race" against them for gold—which leads us to wish that they had defined what they mean by "standard."



The minority report that the double standard, even if adopted, could not be maintained, inasmuch as the laws of trade, which govern the value of gold and silver like other commodities, would prevent it, and that it never has been maintained; and show easily, by a simple reference to the market quotations of bullion, that if we made silver a legal tender side by side with gold the gold would at once be exported, and we should be left to trade on silver alone, which, "demonetized and discarded" in other countries, would flow in on us from every quarter to play the part of a depreciated currency. They declare also that the effect on the credit of the country would be mischievous, inasmuch as when the act of 1862 was passed, setting aside the customs duties in coin for certain purposes, the standard of value was practically gold, and the word "coin" was understood by the public creditor to mean gold. Moreover, if the duties were based on fluctuating silver, the importers would suffer all the inconvenience they now suffer from fluctuating paper, and we should be placed at a great disadvantage in our dealings with London, the great financial centre of the world, where the gold standard only is maintained.

The Louisiana case appears to remain in the same condition as last week. Last Thursday the President sent a despatch to Packard informing him that troops could no longer be employed to uphold either claimant, and on Saturday he announced that he had cancelled all orders for the preservation of the *status quo*; that the people of Louisiana were henceforth "as free in their affairs from Federal interference as the people of Connecticut"; that if the Nicholls government should take possession of the offices "without mob violence" there would be no military interference; and that a posse executing the process of a Nicholls court would be interfered with "no more than in any other State." The despatch to Packard caused great consternation among his supporters in New Orleans and Washington, and led to a good deal of telegraphing backward and forward, the result of which is that the Nicholls party have very wisely postponed all action against Kellogg until the Louisiana case can be finally acted on by the new Administration.

The position of affairs in South Carolina has been advanced one stage further by the decision of the Supreme Court of the Chamberlain-Hampton contest. The matter came before the Court on application of a convict named Tilda Norris, pardoned by Hampton, for her release from the penitentiary. It now appears that on the 27th of last month an order was entered in the case discharging the prisoner. Judge Wright, the only negro on the bench, manifested hesitation in agreeing to the decision, but finally signed the order, begging at the same time for delay in the announcement of the decision, on account of his fears as to his personal safety. For the next two days and nights Wright was threatened, cajoled, argued with, brow-beaten, prayed to, and otherwise "bulldozed." This treatment had the desired effect, and he relented and tried to get possession of the order for the purpose of erasing his signature. Failing in this, he entered an order of his own withdrawing his signature and substituting a dissenting opinion. On this the court came together, but the Chief-justice, Moses, being paralyzed, could not be present. Wright did not appear at all, and the sheriff had to be sent after him; but his return being "not found," the opinion of the court was delivered by Judge Willard, who announced that the final order was entered on the 27th, that Judge Wright's subsequent order was of no effect, and that Hampton, having been duly elected, was governor of the State; that his pardon is consequently valid, and that the prisoner must be discharged. Tilda Norris was at once released. Almost every judge in South Carolina has now recognized, in one way or another, the Hampton government.

The U. S. Treasury during the week notified the holders of \$20,000,000 more 5-20 6 per cent. bonds that they would be redeemed ninety days from the respective days of notification. This makes a total of \$100,000,000 5-20 6 per cent. bonds notified for redemption since the formation of the present Syndicate, all of which

have been replaced with 4½ per cent. bonds. The main advantage secured by the advance in the public credit to the point at which a 4½ per cent. bond can be sold at or above par in gold is the reduction of 1½ per cent. in the interest account of a considerable part of the public debt, no use having yet been made of this high credit to prepare for resumption. The Wall Street markets were but little affected by the political news of the week; the crusade against railroad stocks was checked, and prices recovered part of the decline of the preceding week. The settlement of the Presidential contest was regarded by all classes as the harbinger of better times for every material interest. The gold value of the U. S. legal-tender note for one dollar ranged during the week between \$0.9592 and \$0.9523.

There is no very marked change in the Eastern situation. In so far as any change at all is perceptible, it is in the growth of an opinion that Russia does not wish to fight, and will not if it can be made easy for her to withdraw from her present position. Accordingly, there are schemes on foot for getting Turkey to offer some guarantee for her reforms that will satisfy Russian pride—such, for instance, as a pledge, addressed to the Powers collectively, that the promised reforms will be carried out within a year, of course on pain of military execution if default is again made. The latest rumor, indeed, is that Russia is disposed to be satisfied with something of this kind. The other and less hopeful view, and we are inclined to believe a more likely one, is that Russia is whiling away the muddy season in notes and memoranda, knowing full well that the mere delay is, in the present condition of Turkey, doing the work of a disastrous campaign, and so that it is within the bounds of probability that by May 1 there will be no need to fight. The Ottoman army on the Danube is now enormous, poorly equipped in everything but arms, badly drilled and clothed and doctored, very sickly, not paid at all, and largely composed of levies who have left their fields untilled in Asia Minor, and know that their families run the risk of perishing of famine next summer. The treasury, too, is empty, the dissensions in the official class at Constantinople deep and bitter, and rumors of the present Sultan's folly and extravagance begin to spread. In short, Turkey is bleeding at every pore, and there may any day be a convulsion that will break up the government, throw the Mussulmans back on that old-fashioned plan of salvation, "a general massacre," and compel the Powers to intervene, if for nothing else, for proper division of the spoil.

The elections to the new Turkish Parliament are going on, and there is by the constitution to be one deputy for every 50,000 inhabitants; but in the absence of an electoral law regulating the manner of holding the elections, which the first Parliament is to pass, the members are on this occasion to be elected by the Provincial Councils, which are composed mainly of Mussulmans, and the Christians they are sending up are said to be nonentities. Still it is doubtful whether they have much choice in the matter, as few Christians of any prominence have the courage to serve. Consul Holmes, who has lived thirty years in Turkey, has presented an interesting report to the British Government, giving his reasons for thinking that all mixed representative bodies in Turkey must be farces and hindrances to good government. He says that the Christians who serve in such assemblies in the provinces are, if they venture to open their mouths at all, afraid to differ from their Mussulman colleagues, and when, under instructions from his Minister, he made efforts in Bosnia to get Christians of local prominence to enter them, he found they would not think of it, through fear of "getting into trouble." Outrages continue to be reported from Bulgaria. One of the latest is amusing. A Turkish *zaptieh*, or gendarme, being annoyed by a Christian village mayor, saddled and bridled him, rode him up and down the village street, had him groomed and fed with hay, and then tied him to a post in public, from which nobody ventured to release him until the *zaptieh*, after some hours, relented.

COMPARATIVE BEARING OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES  
SINCE THE ELECTION.

FROM the day of the Presidential election to the completion of the counting of the electoral votes by Congress, the Republican party has appeared, to an observer, in three successive and distinct attitudes. The first, of only too brief duration, was that of the penitent, and was maintained during the few hours in which reports of Tilden's success were almost universally believed. The disjointed confessions of sin which then began to find utterance were sad but healthful, and had they been continued might have had a wholesome effect. They were checked, however, with great suddenness as soon as the discovery was made that there was yet some chance of the party's continuance in power, and many zealous partisans would now be glad to blot out from newspaper files and efface from readers' memories all record of those unhappy hours.

The moment it was understood that sackcloth and ashes had been donned too hastily, an entirely different attitude was taken and kept until the meeting of the Electoral College, or until the final decision of the Returning Boards of the "disputed" States. A typical illustration of the bearing of the party during this period was furnished by the visiting Republicans who hastened to New Orleans the week following the election. In their letters to the visiting Democrats and in their subsequent report to the President the intentions of the party were set forth as plainly almost as though declared in explicit language: These disputed electoral votes are now within our reach or may yet be placed where we can grasp them, and although you Democrats now stand in the way and embarrass us somewhat, nevertheless, if we can manage to get around you, we intend to have them. The attitude assumed irresistibly suggested that of a dog which, discovering a joint of meat carelessly hung where he believes he can reach it, would at once dash toward and seize it, but, observing a watcher, checks his intended course and assumes an appearance of innocence, without in the least giving up his purpose of carrying off the coveted joint as soon as he can do so with safety. It is impossible to gloss over the doings of the Republican party at this time. It exhibited precisely such characteristics as, manifested under analogous circumstances by any single man, would inevitably cause him to be described as a sneak. Though not guilty of positive crime, it was willing to reap the profits of criminal action on the part of others. Its prominent men became suddenly unable to perceive anything rascally in the character of such persons as Wells and his associates, and could not recollect that Sheridan, Grant, investigating committees, and Congress itself had, in different ways, formally pronounced judgment against the men for whose favorable decision they were now pleading.

One very important fact should not be lost sight of here. If the men who composed the Returning Board of Louisiana had been of well-tried and acknowledged probity, Republicans could not have been too anxious, even then, to throw the strongest light of publicity upon all their actions. These men, thus suddenly pushed into the position of judges over vast interests, were political brothers and allies of the Republicans, or, at least, their creatures and servants. The least appearance of wished-for concealment, therefore, was certain to beget suspicion of fraud or collusion. In private life any sensitive man would dread to have a case decided in his favor by persons to whom he held similar relations. When, therefore, this intimate relation between the leaders of the party and the members of the Returning Boards is considered in connection with the notoriously bad character of some of the latter, and with the additional fact that many of them (more especially, however, in South Carolina and Florida) were in the position of bribed judges, inasmuch as they were candidates for offices which might be acquired or lost by their own decisions, no candid man can believe that we have unjustly characterized the attitude of the Republicans during the dreary weeks in which we waited for the decisions from the "doubtful" States.

Honorable men were, of course, deeply grieved by this equivocal or scandalous position of their party, and a few managed to make themselves heard in protest but were powerless to effect anything to the contrary. Too many of the prominent "workers" and "managers" had made up their minds that the desired votes should be theirs, and their determination was either openly abetted or, at least, silently acquiesced in by an overwhelming majority of the party followers and party organs. What we have said with especial reference to Louisiana is equally applicable, with some necessary corrections, of course, and with somewhat less force, to South Carolina and Florida.

The last attitude of the party, from the meeting of the Electoral College to the 1st of March, was that of sullen defiance. The dog had got his joint and meant to keep it. The votes were tightly clutched, and any feeling of shame with reference to the manner of their acquisition was suppressed by the intensity of the determination that not one should be given up until safely counted. But how could the votes be safely counted with any show of legal justification? Not, certainly, by any law or precedent adopted or established by the Republicans during their sixteen years' control of the Government. The Twenty-second Joint Rule, enacted by themselves to meet the exigencies of former counts, if now followed, would defeat them; so would their own precedent with reference to Louisiana. The principles of Morton's Electoral Bill, which many of them had earnestly favored less than a year before, if now adopted would bring the same result. Something new was needed, and was accordingly invented, for only as an invention can we describe the project that the President of the Senate should count whatever votes commended themselves to his judgment as valid. A scheme, accepted because a certain chair was occupied by a Republican, which would not have been thought of if a Democrat had been seated in the same place, does not require rational consideration. In favor of this scheme, nevertheless, many of the party leaders defiantly stood firm for at least six weeks, or until the fears of Democratic violence, the opinion of the decent men of the party, and an outraged public sentiment required its relinquishment. But they did not willingly abandon it even then. Fifty-four Republican members of Congress voted, indeed, for the establishment of the Electoral Commission, but eighty-four Republican members voted against it, and to the Democrats, therefore, must be accorded the credit of the passage of the measure which saved the country from possible anarchy and enabled the Republicans to convey their chosen President "unchallenged to his chair." The selection of Morton as a member of the Electoral Commission, an outrageous impropriety from almost any point of view—as great, for instance, as would have been our putting Ben Butler on the Geneva Tribunal—was, nevertheless, fully in keeping with other party practices from the beginning of the unfortunate controversy. There is a great deal, undoubtedly, in the words and actions of individual Republicans which contrasts sharply with the above unpleasant exhibition, but in the course of the party as a party there is almost nothing in the history of the past four months which any member, good or bad, would not be glad to have forgotten.

If, now, we consider the course of the Democratic party during the same period and in connection with the same events, we have concessions to make with which the country has been long unfamiliar. The invitation sent by the visiting Democrats at New Orleans to the Republicans to meet in conference, "in order to exert influence in favor of an honest count and true return of the votes," was reasonable and commendable from any point of view save that of a designing Republican; and the report of the same Democrats, subsequently made, was certainly a more complete document than that of the Republicans, and, in its admission of "irregularities" and "the evidence of intimidation and violence on both sides," a more candid one also. Of all the dismal investigations subsequent to the election, moreover, the only unpartisan report we now recall was that made by a Democratic committee which declared that South Carolina had voted for Hayes. The position of the more extreme Democrats with reference to the counting of the votes—that



the House had exclusive power—was certainly as violent as that of the Republicans, but it never had the support of the better members of the party, and was adopted by others rather as an offset to the scheme of the Republicans than because of any real belief that it could be sustained.

We have already conceded to the Democrats the chief share of credit in the establishment of the Electoral Commission; and in the acceptance of its decisions, in spite of severe temptation to the contrary, all credit, of course, belongs to them. It must not be forgotten here that the Democrats had tenfold more cause to be dissatisfied with the decision of the Commission than the Republicans would have had if the decision had been reversed. The Democrats fully believed (whatever the fact) that Tilden was fairly elected, and had perfect confidence, moreover, that the Commission would so decide. This confidence, indeed, was fully shared by Sherman, Blaine, Morton, Garfield, Hale, and other Republicans, and furnished them with a sufficient reason for opposing the Commission's formation. Very many leading Democrats, moreover, undoubtedly believed that the Republican party, first, by conniving with rascally Returning Boards, and, second, by partisan decisions in the Electoral Commission, was fraudulently depriving them of the fruits of a hard-fought and fairly-won battle. That they were willing, under the circumstances, to stand by their agreement, and to abide by the decisions of the Commission, may have been nothing more than they ought to have done, but was, nevertheless, a sign of political virtue such as the best Republicans may be thankful they were not called upon to exhibit. That some of their number indulged in vigorous and indignant protestations is a fact which an honest Republican must judge by putting himself in their place. That there was not more excitement under the circumstances is something to be wondered at. The conduct of the "filibustering" Democrats was bad enough, but was more than counterbalanced by that of the more reputable members of the party; for, at the last, the peaceful inauguration of Hayes was made possible only by the firmness of Randall, the Speaker—a man who has never been suspected of saintliness or of excessive love for the animating principles of "the party of moral ideas."

The misconduct of the Democrats during the crisis has, in fact, consisted almost wholly in intemperance of language. Their sole recourse to legal fraud was in the Oregon affair, and would that we could say the Florida and Louisiana juggles had received as little countenance or support from the Republican chiefs as the Oregon juggle did from the Democrats! The appearance of the terrible David Dudley Field in the last session of Congress was damaging to them mainly because of his prominence as an investigator; as a simple "statesman" they would have suffered but little from him. In fact, as far as their course taken altogether during the electoral crisis is concerned, it is impossible to deny that they have gained in credit and the Republicans have lost, and if the Democratic party were not apparently doomed to fatuous leadership it would give the country during the coming Presidential term what it has so long and so sorely needed—a strong opposition possessing some moral weight with the best portion of the people. The address just issued by the House Democrats, however, does not encourage much hope on this score, for it ends with a screaming recommendation to follow the course most sure to disgust the public, and again close the political future to the party, namely, the pursuit of Hayes with a factious hostility, on the ground that he is not lawfully elected. It is extraordinary that politicians of the smallest experience and sagacity should fail to see that Hayes is now the President of the United States, and the only one there is or can be, and that popular confidence and support will inevitably be gathered to him, therefore, in view of the fact that, good or bad, he represents the nation to the world. All impugning of his title, and all heaping of insults on him now on the score of "fraud," will very soon touch the national pride, and cover those engaged in it with an odium which nobody who remembers how much national pride has to do with the success of free government will be sorry to witness.

#### THE GRANGER DECISIONS.

THE Supreme Court has decided the various cases known as the "Granger Cases," and arising out of the "Granger Movement" of three years ago, between the States of Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota, and the proprietors of grain-elevators and railroad companies in these States, touching the power of the State Legislatures to regulate the charges made for the storage of grain and transportation of freight and passengers. The decision is, in substance, that the common-law power of the State governments to regulate ferries, common carriers, hackmen, bakers, millers, wharfingers, innkeepers, etc., applies to railroads and grain-elevators, and that it has in no way been diminished and restricted by the Constitution of the United States, and that the State legislatures have the right to decide by statute, if they please, what are "reasonable rates" of transportation. Two years ago the judgment would have created a good deal of excitement, and probably have had a serious effect on the market value of railroad property in the States from which the appeals were taken. Since then the hostility to railroads, in which the legislation fixing rates originated, has disappeared, and the Granger movement itself, as a political force, has collapsed, so that the decision is not now likely to have any marked immediate influence. Some of its indirect and remote consequences are, however, worth the attention of investors, and we may be pardoned for repeating on this subject some of the remarks we made on it three years ago, when the Granger fury was at its height, and grave and sensible men were found ready to accept the ideas which lay behind the "Potter Law," as if they were hereafter to form part of the order of nature.

The decision of the Supreme Court leaves the railroads of this country in precisely the same position towards the Government as the railroads of all civilized countries. In all of them the state holds the power of regulation and control, and no one doubts the reasonableness and expediency of its exercising that power, nor does its doing so in any way diminish the value of the property. There is a Railroad Commission now sitting in England which has powers of interference with the working of railroads such as no body in existence in this country possesses, and such as have never been claimed for any agent of the state, and it exercises those powers nearly every week. It prevents unfair discrimination in rates, or in the stoppage of trains or location of stations, and in fact exercises on the complaint of persons aggrieved a supervision of the relations of the railroad corporations to the country such as the Grangers in their hottest days never asked for; and this is true, with modifications, of the Government supervision of railroads on the Continent. Wherever we go the state meddles with the railroads and treats them as common carriers; but nowhere except in the Western States of the Union does such interference, or the threat of it, excite alarm and depreciate the property of the stockholders.

The reason of this is that in no other civilized states is corporate property, or any property, in any way devoted to public use, exposed as it is in the Western States to damage or depreciation through gusts of popular passion. It is one thing to have rates regulated in a calm and judicial spirit by persons equally careful for the rights of railroad proprietors and those of the public, and desirous of providing for the general comfort without alarming capital, and another to have it done at the demand of an excited multitude by agents who regard railroad proprietors as public enemies, and celebrate victories over them in the courts as great political triumphs with firing of guns, as the governor of Wisconsin did three years ago. Nobody likes to hold property which it is in the power of a hot-headed, passionate man, against whom there is no appeal, to injure or destroy, and the feeling of security is not lessened by his being sorry for the mischief he has done when his fury is over.

Now, this is very much the condition of railroad property in certain States of the West. They are exposed, as the Granger movement has shown, to wild bursts of hostility in which reason and experience are laid aside, and which result in legislation which, as usual

at such times, the most ignorant have the largest share in framing. We believe, as a matter of fact, that nobody in the Wisconsin Legislature knew less about railroads than the Mr. Potter who drew the Potter law. Nor is the disappearance of the Granger movement sufficient to reassure people. Speculators or very rich men may not mind being threatened with confiscation and having the value of their stocks and bonds lowered for two years at a time, but the bulk of those whose savings form the greater part of the capital invested in railroads have neither money enough nor nerve enough for such experiences. They seek, above all things, security for their property and tranquillity for their minds. They are ill-prepared, at best, to forecast the effect on their fortunes of the ordinary and legitimate fluctuations of business; they are not prepared at all to watch the turns and twists of State politics or find out what are the designs of "the people" with regard to "the bloated corporations" of which they form a part, and even two years of alarm and anxiety are enough to sicken and disgust most of them.

What is to be feared now from the decision of the Supreme Court is not any immediate attack of the State legislatures on railroad property, but a strong stimulus to threatening legislation hereafter, or, in other words, the practice known as "striking," on the part of the tribe of impecunious politicians who form the noisier and more active element in State legislatures, and the consequent deepening of the corruption which already marks the relations of the great railroad companies with these bodies. Nothing could well be more unfortunate for the best interests of the West than that the establishment of the State supremacy over the roads, beyond further question or appeal, should result in the surrender of the roads by the people to even fitful extortion at the hands of the politicians. All that the West most needs and most values must come from the well-settled faith of the people all over the world who have money to lend or invest that its State legislation is, in all that relates to property, stable and sober-minded, and that nobody who lets his money get within the jurisdiction of the State government has to fear the imposition of unforeseen or onerous or unfair conditions on his enjoyment of it. Nothing in this involves the exemption of railroads from proper control, and there is no doubt they have got into lax notions of their duty to the public and their owners on various important matters; but nothing can be more certain than that, in the long run, no machinery any American State can create will be half as likely as these managers themselves to regulate rates in a manner to promote the best interests of the public. In fixing his rates every manager is "seeking for business," or, in other words, trying to tempt as large a body of the people as possible to employ him, and for his sagacity and self-interest in this matter there is in our society no possible substitute. He may make mistakes, but he cannot make them long without being discovered by the laws of trade and punished with a thoroughness and vigor which no political administration can equal or even approach.

It has to be remembered, too, that the common-law doctrines with regard to the regulation of various callings which the Supreme Court has applied to the railroads took their rise at a period when minute regulation was looked on as the great function of government and little was left to popular sagacity in the choice or mode of pursuing any business whatever. It was not the business of common carriers only which the state overlooked, but that of nearly every kind of laborer and manufacturer. The folly of most of this legislation has been made fully manifest; but that a portion of it still has its uses, and that there is no absolute rule to oppose to it, is also undoubtedly true. It does not follow that because it was unwise to fix the price of corn or bread, or the charges of millers, it is now unwise to fix or regulate backs, or put limits to the prices which practical monopolies like railroads put on their services. But in settling this matter, like all other politico-commercial or politico-financial matters, we have to be guided by the common sense and business principles which we use in the management of our private affairs. It is not rational to tear one's hair or fly into a furious passion in considering how to protect one's self against railroad extortion or abuses, any more than to go down

to one's store determined to knock down the first man who offers less than a fair price for one's goods. A common carrier is not *ex vi termini* a common rogue; he is a man performing a very useful function, prone, like other people, to consider his own advantage more than that of those whom he serves, but nevertheless to be restrained like other people by careful and well-considered means, formed not with the view of getting the apparent worth of our money out of him to-morrow or the next day, but with the view of promoting his more distant usefulness, encouraging competition in his business, and spreading the reputation of the State as a body whose credit is good, whose promises are trustworthy, and whom it is profitable to serve faithfully.

#### THE NEW SÉVIGNÉ CORRESPONDENCE.

PARIS, February 9.

I HARDLY know any title for a book which could be more interesting than this: 'Inedited Letters from Madame de Sévigné to Madame de Grignan,' and here are actually two volumes, which are to form the supplement to Hachette's great edition of Madame de Sévigné. I confess my partiality for the oldest editions of every work. Few people are happy enough to possess the first collection of the letters of Madame de Sévigné, printed in 1725 at Troyes. This small volume, made up of "choice letters," is hardly to be found. The edition which, even among the bibliophiles, long passed for the first was printed a year afterwards, in 1726. In its two volumes you have not only an exact text of the letters but you have also what I may call the *flower* of that most amiable, charming, and delightful woman. Whoever will read and re-read these two volumes will know her well, and not only her but her little court of friends. Then came the edition of 1735-37, in six volumes, published by the care of the Chevalier Rollin. He was devoted to the memory of Madame de Sévigné, but, alas! he thought he could improve her style; he corrected her letters, as a pedantic schoolmaster would correct the letter of a young child. This conscientious and learned iconoclast rubbed the bloom off the peach of Madame de Sévigné's style; her incorrectness alarmed him; he combed her, he flattened the unruly locks; he thought he could make her presentable to posterity.

Our time, which has many defects, has at least one quality: we look everywhere in literature for the real text, we try to see the work of art exactly as it came out of the creative mind. This is the reason why such extravagant prices are given for the original editions of our great classics. The edition of Madame de Sévigné which we owe to the conscientious M. Régnier is a monument of care and exactitude; but epistolary literature has this characteristic, that it can hardly ever give anything definitive. Just at the moment when the great edition of Hachette was ended, M. Charles Capmas, professor at the law school of Dijon, made an extraordinary discovery. It was known that some manuscript copies of Madame de Sévigné's letters had been made in old times. There was one copy in a château in Burgundy, which was not far distant from Bourbilly, one of the seats of the Rabutins. *Habent sua fata libelli*. I will not attempt to explain how this precious manuscript was for sale in January, 1872, with the furniture of a house, after the death of an inhabitant of Semur-en-Auxois. A woman who sells old furniture and bric-à-brac in Dijon was present at the sale; she bought a part of the furniture, and, accidentally, the manuscript; this poor manuscript remained for fifteen months in her shop at Dijon, sometimes exposed to the rain. If any passer-by glanced over it he threw the manuscript away with contempt. M. Capmas bought in March, 1873, for eighteen francs, the six volumes in 4to, each of more than 400 pages. He took the pains to study these volumes, and found, to his great joy, that they contained three hundred and twenty letters which were unknown; all these letters are addressed to Madame de Grignan. The Dijon manuscript nearly doubles, therefore, the correspondence of the marchioness with her daughter, as there were only about three hundred letters to Madame de Grignan known to this day. Of this maternal correspondence we can only say what Madame de Sévigné says herself: "I give you with pleasure the flower of all the baskets (*la fleur de tous les paniers*)—that is to say, the flower of my spirit, of my head, of my eyes, of my pen, of my inkstand; the rest goes as it can. I amuse myself with you while I plough with the others."

M. Capmas has thought himself obliged to tell the story of his discovery in the most minute details, and he has entered into a very long comparison of his manuscript with another manuscript which was written at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and which is commonly called the Gros-



bois, as it was a part of the rich library of the Château of Grosbois in Burgundy. This manuscript, a heavy folio of 1,052 pages, had been placed at the disposition of M. de Monmerqué, who spoke of it in 1827, and who really began the great edition of Hachette which was only ended a few years ago. The Grosbois manuscript is now in the possession of the D'Harcourt family, and M. Capmas was allowed to see it and to make an elaborate comparison between it and his own manuscript. I confess that the professor of Dijon has been unsparing in the account of his long analysis of these two copies. It is even a pity that so light a genius as Madame de Sévigné should become the subject of ponderous criticism. The scholiasts of the Middle Ages and of the Renaissance were not half so prolix as the new lover of Madame de Sévigné. There should be some fitness in things. We ought to be thankful to M. Capmas for all the trouble he has taken; but why does he wish to make us suffer ourselves? His introduction of 240 pages is really terrible.

M. Capmas had first the idea of publishing himself a complete edition of Madame de Sévigné, and of inserting among the letters already known the new letters to Madame de Grignan which he had found in the Dijon manuscript. He changed his mind and took a middle course; he has published not only the inedited letters, but also those which were incomplete in the Grosbois manuscript or the ancient editions of Madame de Sévigné. In all the former editions the correspondence of the Marquise with Madame de Grignan, which began in 1671, ends in 1690; in reality it continued four years longer. In 1690 Madame de Sévigné went from Brittany, across France, to Grignan, a journey which at that time lasted twenty days. She remained fourteen months in Provence, and returned to Paris in the last days of December, 1691, in company with Madame de Grignan; they remained together till 1694; but Madame de Grignan was then obliged to go back to Provence, and her mother could not follow her immediately. We have, therefore, in this correspondence of the year 1694, inedited till now, the *novissima verba* of the charming woman, the last rays of her *esprit*; and, curiously enough, there is no trace of sadness or of melancholy in this part of the correspondence. While Madame de Grignan was in the first bloom of youth and beauty, the friendship of Madame de Sévigné, as we know by her letters, had sometimes to suffer; her affection was perhaps too morbid, too inquisitive, too nervous; and the "plus jolie fille du monde" could hardly understand the full value of her admirable mother. Time and separation did something for Madame de Grignan; and it may well be imagined that towards 1694 she valued her mother more than towards 1670; she did not love her more perhaps, but her love became more intelligent. Madame de Sévigné had a *seconde jeunesse* in this increase of devotion on the part of her daughter; and this may, perhaps, explain why this inedited part of her correspondence bears hardly any trace of the effect of age. Can anything, for instance, in the correspondence of the former years be better than this letter of the 19th April, 1694?

"To day ends the long magnificence of the marriage of Mlle. de Louvois. For two months the presents have been exhibited; I wonder that they have not been plundered. Monsieur de Reims gave, besides many louis (which accompanied those of Madame la Chancelière and of Madame de Bois-Dauphin, and those of one of the corners of the jewel-box of the Maréchale de Villeroy), two earrings which you used to see and admire at the late Mademoiselle's, which were valued at 12,000 *écus*; he got them for 13,000 francs, and throws them to the two or the four or six ears which I wish his niece might have. Well! this poor creature, burdened like Midas with the gold which she carries, is now with her grandmother, the Chancelière, with all her noble company, where they will read and sign the contract. At eight o'clock, the company goes to Madame de Louvois's, where M. de Lauglé, to help her, takes care of the supper—five tables of twenty persons each, served as at *Psyche*. Six hundred pistoles have been thrown away for to-night's clean little repast. . . . M. de la Rochefoucauld alone, with a little hardness and inhumanity, refuses the honor of his presence to this great feast, where all the Dukes, the Estroës, the Armagnacs, the Brissacs, and others take pleasure in showing themselves."

When Madame de Sévigné wrote these lines she was already sixty-eight years old; in former days she had narrated the marriage of the eldest daughter of Louvois; now she was speaking of the marriage of the second. The last page of M. Capmas's book might in truth be called a literary relic. The day before Madame de Sévigné left for Grignan, where death was awaiting her, she wrote to her daughter (10th May, 1694): "Indeed, it is a strange thing to start and to leave one's place as we do; one pities one's self; one has nothing more left; the furniture is sold. But I am too happy to go and see you, and embrace you, and to leave a place where everybody will soon die. . . ." She was to die first; the incomparable mother's days were already counted. She preserved her gaiety to the end, that gaiety which was, so to speak, the vestment of purity and of virtue. Sévigné was, in fact, a true philosopher, and she was all the more admirable in that she had a tenderness of heart which is not always found in the breasts of phi-

losophers. It is delightful to find in these inedited letters new marks of untiring affection for her light-hearted son, the Marquis de Sévigné; for the good Abbé de Coulanges, whom she called the "bien bon"; for all her well-known friends and relations—Emmanuel de Coulanges, Madame de Coulanges, the Chevalier de Grignan, for Corbinelli, for Bussy. Poor Bussy! he was paying a heavy penalty for the faults of his pen and of his unbridled imagination. Every year he wrote abject letters to the king, who would not allow him to leave his splendid exile. Bussy was one of the best generals of his time, and he was condemned to live in the country, adorning his gardens and his chateau. He had been indelicate even to his charming cousin; still, we will forgive him something, as he was the first man who admired and felt the great genius that was in her. He may be classed first in the list of those who have given the highest rank to Madame de Sévigné among the classics of the seventeenth century.

#### WAGNER'S ONLY COMIC OPERA.

MUNICH, February 9, 1877.

THE romantic whims and eccentricities of the present King of Bavaria have given rise to much unfavorable and sarcastic comment. But, after all, it seems better that a king should spend his leisure hours and surplus money in having operas performed for his sole benefit, and in constructing greenhouses with artificial full moons on the roof of his palace, than that he should resort to war and the other fashionable amusements of the monarchs of bygone ages. If political history will say little of Louis II., his name will be the more prominent in the history of art. Everybody knows what he has done for Wagner, and that but for his material assistance the Bayreuth stage festival would not yet have been possible. Thanks, also, to his genuine taste for art, Munich, though containing but 180,000 souls, has a dramatic and operatic stage in many respects the finest in Europe. This winter all the dramas of Schiller are being produced here in succession, with a perfection of acting in all parts and a brilliancy of scenic outfit which they have never received on any other stage. In March a German version of the "Frogs" of Aristophanes will be brought out on a stage modelled after the Greek; and other works are produced here which are seldom seen on any other stage, such as Byron's "Manfred" with Schumann's music, and Goethe's "Egmont" with Beethoven's complete music. But, in particular, to attend the performance of a Wagner opera in this city is quite a different thing from hearing the same work as performed in Vienna, or even in Berlin. In the latter city, and still more in Vienna, these operas are given with a number of red-pencil marks or "cuts" and other traditional operatic licenses, which render them rather unsatisfactory to one whose musical intelligence is sufficiently advanced to appreciate the organic unity of the music drama. Here, however, no such proceedings are tolerated, and the works are rendered as closely as possible in accordance with the intention and spirit of the composer.

Considerable excitement has prevailed here of late in the circles of the musical liberals, owing to the performances of the "Meistersinger," which had not been heard in this city for three years, and for the enjoyment of which the brilliant success of the "Nibelung" performances at Bayreuth had sharpened the appetites of all. The "Meistersinger" is one of Wagner's most mature works, having been composed even after "Tristan und Isolde," which he himself regards as the nearest approach to his ideal of the art-work of the future, and which itself followed "Rheingold" and the "Walküre," the first two dramas of the trilogy. The plot of the "Meistersinger," however, belongs to a much earlier period, having been conceived before that of "Lohengrin." Immediately after completing the score of "Tannhäuser," the composer visited one of the Bohemian summer resorts, and there, partly urged by some friends, who desired him to essay his powers in some other than the tragic field, originated the idea of writing a comic opera, to follow "Tannhäuser," just as among the Greeks a *Satyrspiel* was wont to follow the performance of a tragedy.

In the XIIth and XIIIth centuries poetry and song were entirely in the hands of the troubadours in Provence and the Minnesingers in Germany. They were chiefly knights and other noblemen, kings and princes even being found among their numbers. But gradually the higher classes lost their interest in such pursuits, and the cultivation of song and poetry was transferred to the artisans in the towns—to the tailors, shoemakers, weavers, and other *Meister*, who formed societies and fostered the *Meistergesang*, in accordance with a large number of fixed, conventional rules of amazing complexity and artificiality. One of the chief seats of these Meistersingers was Nürnberg, which at the time of the immortal "Hans Sachs, cobbler," in the middle of the XVIth century, had more than two hundred and fifty of them. Into this circle

Wagner introduces us in his opera. After that spirited and wonderfully constructed introduction which has so often been heard on the concert stages of both continents, the curtain rises on a scene representing the interior of the Katharine church in Nürnberg. The congregation is just engaged in singing, to the accompaniment of organ and cellos, the last stanza of one of those beautiful and impressive chorals which constitute the chief musical treasure transmitted to us by the Middle Ages. In one of the last rows of benches is seated Eva, daughter of Pogner, the goldsmith. Her devotion is sadly disturbed by the young knight, Walther von Stolzing, who is leaning against a neighboring pillar, and whose admiring glances and gestures she does not at all discourage. As the congregation leaves he finds an opportunity to speak to her and to confess his love, but to his consternation hears that she is already betrothed. To-morrow she will be bestowed on that Meistersinger who shall win the prize at the festival with his song. Eva gives the knight a broad hint that, happen what will, she will bestow the prize on him or on no one, and leaves with her purse Magdalena, while Walther remains watching the preparations which are being made for an assembly of the Meistersingers. Pending their arrival, David, the mischievous apprentice of Hans Sachs, endeavors to initiate him into some of the mysteries and rules of the musical code or tabulature of these artisan-artists. At last they appear, coming in in groups of two and three. The roll is called, and Pogner then announces to his colleagues what Walther had already heard from Eva. The knight now steps forward and begs to be admitted into the worthy society, and to be allowed to compete for the prize: much to the disgust of one of their number, Beckmesser, an old, ugly, conceited, and disagreeable character, who turns out to be Walther's only rival, as all the other *Meisters* are either married or widowers. To prove his fitness for the desired honor the candidate is required to sing a song, in which, if he deviates more than nine times from the rules of the tabulature, he has *versungen*, or, as Americans would say, is "played out." A chair is placed for him on one side, while Beckmesser takes his stand behind a curtain as *Mark*, or marker, in order to note down on a blackboard every violation of the rules of the tabulature. Walther's song is only half-ended when Beckmesser, who has all the time been scratching away audibly, rushes out angrily and holds up the board, all covered with marks. Most of the masters agree with him as to the complete *fiasco* of the knight; his song is contrary to all traditional forms and usages—no cadences and periods, no vocal embellishments, and "of melody not a trace." But Hans Sachs interposes in his favor. He finds the song "new yet not confused," and cautions them not to measure by their own rules that of which they have not yet discovered the rules. But, in spite of this, the masters unanimously vote that the candidate has *versungen*. Of the inevitable three acts this first one is, dramatically and musically, the least interesting. Were it not for the brilliant and ever-varying instrumentation, parts of it would be monotonous. But it should be remembered that instrumentation, or the proper use of "tone-colors," is just as important an element in music as melody, harmony, and rhythm, and that its gradual development required as much time and genius as that of those other elements. Repeated hearing shows that this act contains most of the theme-buds which in the following acts are unfolded into full blossom. By means of the "leading motives" all the parts of a Wagnerian music-drama, as in a perfect symphony or sonata, are correlated and intimately united. One feels that the composer had a mental bird's-eye view of the whole before he composed any single part. And this is the characteristic of a real work of art, and what so favorably distinguishes the new music-drama from the patchwork of the Italian opera, with its unconnected string of "thematically developed" melodies.

The "Meistersinger" is as long as "Götterdämmerung." The performance here begins at six and ends at eleven. At Bayreuth an intermission of one hour between two acts of each drama was always made for recreation. But altered circumstances and aims unfortunately do not allow any such course to be pursued in an evening performance in a modern German city. Hence, after "fifteen minutes for refreshments" and a short orchestral prelude, the curtain rises on the second act, showing one of those characteristic narrow streets in old Nürnberg, smelling of feudal times and limiting city-walls. To the left the humble house of Hans Sachs, to the right the more elegant mansion of Pogner. We see and hear first a score of frolicsome apprentices making fun of David, who has been discovered to be in love with Magdalena. Eva discovers through the latter that Walther's song was adjudged a failure. The knight appears, and, after passionately denouncing the narrow-mindedness of the Meistersingers, the two propose to elope as the last resort. But their plan is frustrated. That grotesque institution of the Middle Ages (still surviving in some small Ger-

man towns), the night-watchman, comes up the street with his lantern, and proclaims with a loud sing-song voice that the clock has struck ten. The lovers have retired behind the bushes in front of Pogner's house. This danger past, a more serious one presents itself. Around the corner of the house the sound of a lyre is heard. Beckmesser is about to sing a serenade to Eva. But to his infinite disgust Sachs, who has an eye on the fugitive lovers, at this moment carries out his work-bench in front of the house, and begins to hammer away and to sing in a loud voice some coarse shoemaker songs. Beckmesser entreats, commands him to stop, several times beginning his serenade, but in vain. The details of the whole scene are exceedingly comic. The altercation and noise finally reach such a pitch that the indignant neighbors are aroused from their slumbers. David comes out, and, seeing Magdalena looking out of the window to which Beckmesser's song is directed, he attacks the unhappy musician and beats him most unmercifully. The street is soon filled with apprentices and workmen of all trades, who take sides in the quarrel. An infernal noise and a scene of terrible confusion ensue, comparable only to the mob-scene in Schiller's "Fiesco." The noise is increased by the cries of the women, who are looking out of all the windows on the scene below. Suddenly the horn of the watchman is heard, not far off, and in a second the crowd has dispersed. The sudden contrast is most amusing, as the watchman slowly comes down the street, blowing his immense cow-horn and solemnly proclaiming the eleventh hour. The curtain drops on act the second, which, from beginning to end, abounds in genuine humor, grotesque effects, and well-seasoned sarcasm; and is in these respects equal to the third, the longest and the best of the acts.

With the exception of "Rienzi" all the stage-works of Wagner are divided into three acts, and, moreover, he seems to show a remarkable partiality for introductions to his third acts. So those in "Siegfried," "Tristan," "Lohengrin," "Walküre," and "Meistersinger" are among the very finest efforts of his genius, and go some way towards disproving his own dogma, that pure instrumental music had reached its highest development before his time. A deeply meditative spirit pervades the introduction to the last act of the "Meistersinger." It is exactly what one might imagine an ideal introduction to the first scene of Goethe's "Faust" to be, and reveals the hand of the composer of "Tristan." Hans Sachs sits in his room reading in a large folio, and engaged in pessimistic reflections on the scenes of the last day and night, and the weaknesses and follies of mankind in general. He is interrupted by David, who comes to congratulate him on his birthday, sings his apprentice-song about St. John on the banks of the Jordan, advises his master to marry again, and leaves, glad that he is not taken to task for his pugnacious conduct of last night. Walther now enters and tells Sachs a wonderful dream which he had during the night—Walther's well-known prize-song. Sachs carefully notes it down on a slip of paper. Thus, from an unexpected quarter, is the knight equipped for the coming contest. After they have gone to prepare for the festival, Beckmesser enters, finds the paper lying on the table, and quickly puts it in his pocket. A new song by Sachs! There is time left for him to learn it, and with it he must surely win the prize. Sachs returns, discovers the theft, but tells Beckmesser he may keep the poem and use it. The latter rushes out, wild with joy. Eva enters, richly dressed in white. One of her shoes does not quite fit. While Sachs makes it right, Walther returns, and, dazzled by the beauty of his expected bride, addresses to her a verse of his song. David and Magdalena also appear, and, *mirabile dictu*, the scene ends in a quintette—a genuine and most delightful quintette, by Richard Wagner of Bayreuth, in one of his latest works! It is said, though with what degree of truth I know not, that Wagner wanted to remove this relic of operatic barbarism from his work, but, on the solicitation of some friends, was induced to leave it. And it surely would have been a pity to remove it. It would be out-Wagnering Wagner not to permit for once in five hours an interruption of the dramatic action for the sake of such an inspiring and sublime piece of absolute music. And now follows the grandest part of the opera. The scene changes to a wide meadow, with a most imposing view of the whole city of Nürnberg in the background. Floral decorations, men, women, and children in festive attire, singing and dancing. A chorus of shoemakers sing the praises of St. Crispin, who stole the leather from the rich to make shoes for the poor; the tailors tell of the patriotic feats of one of their number who was sewed up in a goat-skin, and, by frisking about on the city wall, induced the enemy to raise the siege in despair. The bakers also have their song. The whole scene is poetically and musically of a most exuberant humor, and one wave after another of half-suppressed laughter crosses the house. At last the Meistersinger come marching along to the sounds of that glorious march which has the same



inspiring effect on the hearer that "God save the Queen" has on a London audience, or "Die Wacht am Rhein" on a band of German soldiers. On an eminence quickly constructed with pieces of turf Beckmesser now takes his stand, confused and trembling; but his ill gotten song is too much for him. His memory fails him, and he is obliged (to use a college phrase) to "crib" several times from his manuscript. Of the text he makes the most ludicrous nonsense, and his melody is a capital parody of the Italian aria, with all its bombastic vocal embellishments. The people interrupt him several times with exclamations of surprise, and finally his song is drowned by their laughter and cries of derision. Enraged, he throws the manuscript on the ground, and exclaims it is not his—Hans Sachs is the author. Sachs explains that the poem is good, only it must be properly rendered. It is agreed that he who can sing its proper melody shall receive the prize. Walter steps forward, fulfils these conditions, and wins the bride. A jubilant outburst of full orchestra and chorus, with swinging of hats and handkerchiefs, follows, and the curtain drops on this most realistic and lively representation of a German *Volkfest*, which must arouse the enthusiasm of the most pronounced music-Puritan and conservative.

It would be interesting, if space allowed, to examine how far the "Meistersinger" deserves the name of "opera," and how far it belongs to the species of music-dramas. A few of its points of agreement and difference with the "Ring des Nibelungen" and "Tristan" may be briefly mentioned. It differs from the representative works mentioned in having a historical instead of the orthodox mythical subject; in returning from alliterative verse to rhyme; in containing a quintette, and giving considerable prominence to the choruses, of which the whole trilogy contains only two, and "Tristan" not one. The points of resemblance, however, are more significant—a "national" subject; the full symphonic orchestra, adding to all the modern resources of coloring some revived from the Middle Ages, and never degraded to perform the function of a guitar, accompanying a vocal solo; the employment and skilful contrapuntal interweaving of leading motives or themes characterizing persons and situations, so useful in the drama for combining past with present impressions; and, finally, the conscientious avoidance of threadbare phrases and cadences. Wagner's musical style bears some resemblance to the literary style of Tacitus, is always concise and suggestive, and abhors the Ciceronian music-rhetoric of a Mendelssohn—elegant language with meagre contents. His melodies are always short and rich. They float in the ever-changing and turbulent sea of harmonies, as rose-buds peep out of their surrounding leaves shaken by the wind. There are just enough of them. Too many would spoil the scene. Apart from its purely poetic and musical elements, the "Meistersinger" is chiefly interesting as being a satire on the critics of the composer. It belongs to the same category as Schiller and Goethe's "Xenien," Byron's "English Bards," Pope's "Dunciad," and Mr. Browning's recent "Pacchiarotto." It is easy to see that Walther represents for his age the artist of the future, and Beckmesser the firm of "Hanslick, Lindau & Co.," while Hans Sachs is the antagonist of their musical philistinism, or, as Matthew Arnold defines the word, "inaccessibility to new ideas" and impressions. Of course all the "Beckmesser critics," as they are now called in Germany, have been unanimous in their condemnation of the opera as a "musical monstrosity," and one of them naively confesses that it has the same effect on him as unripe gooseberries! Local critics assert, what one can easily believe, that the recent performances were not so good as those during the régime of Wagner and Hans von Bülow. The greatest defect here is that Munich has not yet, like Dresden, Weimar, and Magdeburg, followed Bayreuth in making the orchestra invisible, and hence the brass is sometimes too prominent, and the gallery the best place from which to hear. It is to be hoped that at one of the coming stage-festivals "Meistersingers of Nürnberg" will be given by the "Wagner-singers of Bayreuth." The opera will be produced in London next season by Mr. Carl Rosa, and it is rumored that it will then also be heard in America, given by the same troupe. H. T. F.

## Correspondence.

### THE SUPREME COURT JUDGES ON THE ELECTORAL COMMISSION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the *Nation* of February 22, in your article on "The Decision of the Commission," you say:

"To say now that because both sides voted in the direction of party bias some one man must have been dishonest, is as absurd as the position of those impeachers of Andrew Johnson who held that any Republican Senator

who did not vote guilty on some one article—they did not care which—must be corrupt."

This seems to imply the position, which I have understood you frequently to express, that the Senators in the celebrated impeachment trial exercised judicial functions, and that any Senator would have been perjured had he not voted according to his judgment of what law and evidence demanded, irrespective of his own or anybody's opinion of the desirableness or undesirableness of the consequences of such vote.

Turning to your number of the previous week, in your editorial on "The Florida Decision," I read:

"It is, of course, to be regretted that the judges of the Supreme Court on the Commission should have been divided on party lines in giving their decision; that one or two of the Democratic judges should not have seen fit, when the majority was certain, to vote with it, in order to give the judgment of the Commission greater moral weight with the country, and to prevent even the slight loss of prestige which results from the presumption that the opinions of the judges have been colored by their politics."

I am not aware of anything in the position of the Commission which required its members to exercise judicial functions in a less degree than the members of the High Court of Impeachment. If no member of the latter might innocently decide according to his judgment of the desirableness of some effect to follow and flow out of his decision, I cannot see how any member of the former can do so.

Will you please to explain the apparent incongruity in your teachings?

H.

NEW HAVEN, CONN., February 28.

[In the first place, we believe it is the practice of the judges in all State courts of high standing to make every effort to secure, for the sake of the dignity and influence of the tribunal, as close an approach to unanimity as possible, and that in many cases, where the judgment is settled and it is desirable that it should have all possible weight, the minority do not hesitate to sacrifice themselves by concealing their dissent from it. When a judge finds a majority of his brethren differing from him on a point of law, he must be very proud or very self-confident not to find his own opinion shaken, and not to find the surrender or suppression of it an easy matter, particularly as the decision is the decision of the court, and not his own. A judge who holds a casting vote is differently situated. He virtually has it in his power to decide the case, and he is bound to express and vote in accordance with his opinion, just as if he sat alone. In the Senate, in the Andrew Johnson trial, the reason why the Republican minority were asked to vote guilty on some article or other was that they were needed to make up the two-thirds necessary to a conviction. If they had voted guilty on any article they would, therefore, have changed the result from acquittal to conviction, something which they were bound by their oath not to do. But apart from this altogether, the Senators are in a different situation from law judges. Their duties are principally legislative; they only meet as a court very rarely, and even when they do cannot put off the character of representatives. They vote as Senators, not as members of a tribunal, and the country has a right to know how they vote and what they think. We believe that the disposition which has shown itself with increasing strength among the Supreme Court judges of late years to give prominence to their individual opinions, and make them of greater importance than the corporate opinion of the Court, is viewed with considerable regret by the best portion of the bar. But we must add that the matter is one on which we do not mean to say a judge's duty is at all clear. There are two or three different views of the position of the Supreme Court judges on the Electoral Commission for all of which there is something to be said. If they had agreed at the outset to consult apart and cast solidly the vote of the majority of the five as the vote of the whole five, they would have done, we think, a lawful and very useful thing; but in voting separately and in party lines they did a very different thing, which we regret but do not censure them for doing.—ED. NATION.]

### THE AMERICAN MINISTER TO ENGLAND.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The following article appears in the *London World* of February

14, a paper which claims a high character and large circulation amongst the best classes of Great Britain :

"Mr. Martin Chuzzlewit asked Colonel Diver, 'Is smartness American for forgery?' The gallant colonel and editor of the *Roudy Journal* replied: 'Well, I expect it's American for a good many things that you call by other names. But you can't help yourself in Europe. We can.' I was reminded of this interesting and characteristic question and answer when I heard the other day what was said during an interview between some English merchants and the United States Minister. The former were anxious to know what chance they had in getting a bill relating to an international enterprise passed through Congress. With the candor of Colonel Diver, the Minister replied that it would be necessary to bribe heavily in order to succeed. When asked if he really meant that bribery was a concomitant of legislation in the great Republic, he corrected himself, and said that it would be essential to use much 'influence.' What newspaper 'enterprise' in the United States means the English public are aware. They now know how to translate the word 'influence.'"

Whether such a statement as is here imputed to the United States Minister were actually made or not, yet that such an allegation should be deemed credible, and, as such, should find its place in a respectable journal, is sufficient indication of the excessive loss of dignity which the position of representative of the United States at Great Britain has sustained.

The frivolity and silly public utterances of Mr. Pierrepont, united to the scandalous connection of his predecessor with mining speculations, have resulted in degrading in the minds of the British public the office and nation which they have so unfitly represented, and give frequent occasion for mortification on the part of every American resident here.

It is perhaps too much to hope that any official notice should be taken of the charge so distinctly made against our representative; but it may interest some of your readers to be informed of the esteem in which our minister is said to hold his own Government.

LONDON, February 15, 1877.

A NEW-YORKER.

[It would certainly not be improper for the American Minister to ask the *World* to produce the person who says he held this interview with him, and we could readily understand his attention being called to it by the State Department.—ED. NATION.]

## Notes.

WALLACE'S 'Russia' will be published during the present month by Henry Holt & Co. Directions for coloring the maps have been late in arriving and have delayed the work.—A. S. Barnes & Co. will issue immediately 'Memoirs of P. P. Bliss,' by Major D. W. Whittle, with an introduction by D. L. Moody.—Architects and builders who wish to extend their acquaintance with the principles involved in the graphical method of ascertaining the stresses in the different parts of framed structures will be interested in a little volume of sixty-four pages by Professor C. E. Greene, of the University of Michigan, entitled 'Graphical Analysis of Roof Trusses' (Chicago: Geo. H. Frost). The book is a reprint of a series of articles from *Engineering News*. The subject is treated clearly and concisely, and in such terms as to be easily understood by any one who has a slight knowledge of geometry and elementary mechanics.—A bibliography of the game of billiards is now in course of publication in *Notes and Queries*.—The *Library Table*, published in this city by Henry L. Hinton & Co. during the past year as a monthly, is to become a weekly with the April number, under the editorial management of Mr. Porter C. Bliss.—Mr. Steiger sends us the sixth revised edition of Kiepert's 'Atlas Antiquus'—"twelve maps of the ancient world for schools and colleges" (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer). The title-page is in English, and we suppose this will really help the sale in the English and American markets. Dr. Kiepert's authority is, of course, the highest. The maps are large enough to include the whole of Italy (for example) without greatly diminishing the scale. No. 11 is a broad representation of the northern provinces of Rome from Britain to the mouth of the Danube. In comparison with maps drawn on copper, these, being lithographed, have a somewhat woolly appearance.—A very interesting Memorial of the late Dr. Francis Gardner has been published by the Public Latin School Association of Boston.—A Summer School is projected by the Butler University of Indiana. The scientific faculty will head an exploring expedition in the interest of geology and natural history, with especial reference to collections, leaving Indianapolis about June 20. Dallas, Texas, will be the centre of operations. "Lady students will be received if five or more make application." Enquiries should be addressed to Prof. John A. Myers, Irvington, Ind.

—Of Messrs. L. M. Yale and A. M. Warren, to whom we referred last week as "two of our artists" exhibiting etchings at the present Water-Color Exhibition, a correspondent writes: "Permit me to say that, as to the former gentleman, he is an amateur, a physician in good practice, and professor in one of the schools of medicine here, his etchings wholly the product of leisure hours; and as to the latter, he was a professor at Annapolis, and has been dead a twelvemonth."

—The *Atlantic* for March has made quite a stir in journalistic circles by the publication of an article by Mr. E. S. Nadal on "Newspaper Literary Criticism." There are two theories of the function of the newspaper, widely opposed to each other, one of which is held or advanced by the journalist when in his more exalted and sacerdotal moods, the other being put forward by him when he is on the lower plane of carnal worldliness. When he looks at the newspaper as the great progressive influence of modern times, and upon himself as a member of the new priesthood that keeps alive and ever infuses new vigor into this influence, he generally thinks of the function of the newspaper critic—be he literary, artistic, educational, or musical critic—as in a measure that of final judge in the various fields over which he presides, and as being a reverent and awful personage to whom this nineteenth century looks up as former centuries have to priests and divinely-anointed rulers. When, however, oppressed by care, and the difficulty of reconciling this view of his profession with the actual condition of the paper trade and the labor market, the weary journalist chews the bitter cud of reflection, and meditates upon the real as distinguished from the ideal in journalism, he generally comes to the conclusion that the lofty view of the critic as a judge is a mistake; that for such work he is underpaid; that these elevated standards may be all very well for the rich and prosperous, who have nothing to do but to think about other people's duties; but that the poor, half-fed journalist, if he wishes to earn his bread and butter, had better not at any time be too Rhadamanthine, but think twice before he makes enemies among authors and publishers, when it is just as easy to make friends. With the sort of temptations that beset the critic when in this world Mr. Nadal seems to be tolerably familiar. He says: "A silent pressure is brought to bear upon the critic to be continually coquetting with the advertisers, to reward those who do advertise, to punish those who do not, and to invite those who are expected to. I say the pressure is a silent one; the reviewer is not told, or at any rate not frequently told, to do such and such things. On the contrary, he is said to have a *carte blanche*. But there are two sorts of *carte blanche*, a verbal and a moral *carte blanche*. The *carte blanche* I refer to says to the reviewer, 'You may do as you like, but'—and there is an ominous reservation which he prudently construes to mean that it will be well for him to like to do what proprietors wish to have done."

—This suggestion of the influence of low and sordid motives has, we regret to see, caused some feeling in the *Evening Post*, which wishes to know whether Mr. Nadal really "comprehends the slanderous and insulting significance of his words." So far does its indignation carry it that, dropping the anonymous, the "present writer" brings himself forward editorially to refute Mr. Nadal by making affidavit that he "has reviewed several thousands" of books, "good and bad" together, in his time, and among them were many "whose authors were his acquaintances and friends"; "but he does not remember that he ever yet consciously wrote an untruth concerning any of the books, or that he ever had greater hesitation in saying that his friend's book was not a good one than he would have in criticising his friend's pigs or poultry. His friendship may have perverted his judgment in some cases; he may have attributed some part of his friend's personal excellence to his friend's literary performance, but he has not knowingly sacrificed truth upon the altar of friendship, if for no other reason, because as a man with a living to earn he could not afford to do anything of the sort." We have no space to go into the merits of this controversy, but we must call the attention of the *Post* to the fact that it somewhat weakens the effect of its manly denunciation of Mr. Nadal by an attempt to give its own idea of what the true function of a newspaper literary critic is. It is perfectly intelligible, but we have never met with it before in print. It says: "The work of the critic is not so much criticism as description. It is in the nature of news and comment upon news, and the newspaper reviewer rightly omits much in the way of adverse criticism which he would include if he were writing literary criticism in the stricter sense of the term." We must take the *Post's* word for it that it is the critic whose duties it is defining, for the functionary to whom we should have supposed the description applied is not so much the critic as that humble but useful satellite of the literary system—the composer of advertisements, who, under the guise of criticism, but omitting to say much that is "adverse," strives to excite in



the public that intellectual craving for knowledge without which there can be no true prosperity among the manufacturers of books.

—Washington's birthday was celebrated at the Johns Hopkins University by public addresses from President Gilman and Professors Gildersleeve and Sylvester, and by the recital of Lowell's Ode to Washington by the poet himself. Prof. Sylvester, who occupies the chair of Mathematics, and is an acquisition from Cambridge, England, spoke partly of himself and his satisfaction with his new relations, and partly of his work and proposed courses of instruction, and indulged in some general remarks of a very interesting character. He maintained with much force "the position that the two functions of teaching and working in science should never be divorced," illustrating from his own experience the advantage of their conjunction. He discovered early in his professorship on the other side the principle now known in the text books as the "Dialytic Method of Elimination," in the act of teaching a private pupil the simpler parts of algebra; and but recently, at the University in Baltimore, the persistence of a student in his desire to study the New Algebra has led Prof. Sylvester into "a research of fascinating interest" from which he hopes for great results. He has reason, he told his audience, "to think that the taste for mathematical study, even in its most abstract form, is much more widely diffused than is generally supposed" in this country; and the late prospectus for a mathematical journal of a high character, to be published under the auspices of the University, appears to have met with encouraging responses. Prof. Sylvester spoke at considerable length and with deep feeling on the estrangement between the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon race caused by the exclusive, ecclesiastical policy of the English Universities in former years. "Their work it is that a separation deeper and a chasm more difficult to fill up has been created between the two most free and powerful nations in the world—England and America—than any due to political causes, present or past." Why is it, he enquired, that the flower of American youth do not resort for their mental impulse and higher education to Oxford and Cambridge, instead of to Berlin, Leipzig, Jena, or Heidelberg?

"It is because there they are welcomed, to whatever religious communion they are attached or unattached, without question and without distinction. It is because there they can rest on the bosom of a common mother, who shows kindness to all and favors to none. . . . I have been struck, almost from the first hour of my landing on these shores, by the manifestations I have everywhere witnessed of the close intellectual sympathy which exists between America and Germany. It is German books that are read, it is German authors who are quoted, German opinion on all matters of science and learning that is appealed to; and as regards community of work and intellectual ties, I do not think it at all extravagant to assert that Germany and America belong to one hemisphere, and we in England to another."

On this subject of the alienation of intellectual sympathy Prof. Sylvester has perhaps not done full justice to his countrymen. If educational opportunities were equal, and if the accumulations of German science were as accessible as those of England, there would still be a clear advantage in acquiring another language in the country where it is spoken, and in coming in contact with a different order of mind, however little superior. The disparity of attendance ought not to be so enormous hereafter, certainly; but we believe Germany will always, from natural causes, prove more attractive than England.

—In spite of the innumerable reviews of 'Daniel Deronda' which have appeared in English, a German critic (Mr. Wilhelm Scherer, in the *Deutsche Rundschau* for February 7) is probably the first to discover that Daniel was intended to represent no less a person than the hero of 'Joshua Davidson, Communist,' a novel whose alleged flippancy and irreverence attracted considerable attention a few years ago. After suggesting that the title of the book, to convey an idea of its character, should have run: 'Selfishness and Self-sacrifice,' or 'Love of Self and Sympathy,' or 'Self interest and Disinterestedness,' and remarking that, while the Jews were taken as representatives of self-sacrifice and unselfishness, it cannot have been the author's intention to put forward her characters as types of Judaism, he proceeds as follows:

"We have in mind the evening when Deronda, rowing on the Thames, found Mirah. The author describes his hands while rowing:

"They are not small and dimpled, with tapering fingers that seem to have only a deprecating touch: they are long, flexible, firmly grasping hands, such as Titian has painted in a picture where he wanted to show the combination of refinement with force. And there is something of a likeness, too, between the faces belonging to the hands—in both, the uniform pale brown skin, the perpendicular brow, the calmly penetrating eyes. Not seraphic any longer: thoroughly terrestrial and manly; but still of a kind to raise belief in a human dignity which can afford to acknowledge poor relations."

"Now, I can recollect no picture of Titian's, except the 'Christ with the Tribute Money,' in which the hands fasten the observer's attention as perhaps those of no other picture. And when the author goes on to say

that one sometimes meets such characters among the lower orders, artisans, etc., she is unquestionably thinking of him whom Frederic the Great calls somewhere 'un garçon charpentier juif.' . . . Deronda resembles him in freedom from sin, ability to resist temptation, and in a great deal else. But he is still more like the Jesus of M. Renan than him of the Evangelists, for he has a special power over the female heart. Poor Gwendolen plays the part of the Magdalene; she looks at him as at a shrine; he is the single guiding star for her deserted, aberrant soul. Every word which he bestows upon her is a law. From him she expects absolution and penance, forgiveness and benediction. The magic power which he seems to possess we first appreciate when we know his model. Deronda is goodness itself; he is all tenderness, all consideration. There is no delicacy of feeling of which he was not, even as a boy, capable. He has early accustomed himself in imagination to take part in others' experiences. He regards his life and action not as peculiar to himself, but always for their effect upon others. From his thirteenth year he has striven to understand those who feel differently from himself. He makes his mother no reproaches, is oppressed only by a growing sadness. His deepest sympathy is excited by those who have done something wrong and are unhappy. Sir Hugo says to him: 'You have a passion for people who are pelted.' I think you might easily be led to go arm in arm with a lunatic, especially if he wanted defending.' . . . His eyes and look have wonderful qualities. The first are of a dark and gentle inwardness, which seems to express an especial interest in the person with whom he is speaking; whoever is in need of help finds his prayers encouraged by such eyes. His look makes one believe in man's past and future noble deeds. There is a power of life and richness of color in his face which makes one nervous when he throws a sudden glance, and this glance is terrifying when he disapproves. . . . I forbear to bring up new points of resemblance between the model and the copy; they press themselves upon every reader's attention."

—It might be expected that the historical literature of 1876 would have especial reference to those countries of the East which have been the chief object of attention this year. Most of the books on this subject have, however, been either hastily prepared or ephemeral in their nature—compilations and books of travel rather than histories. As a solid contribution to historical science, the first place is undoubtedly taken by Jirecek's 'Geschichte der Bulgaren,' a book that has long been in preparation, but is only just now published. Of books of travel in the seat of war, Evans's 'Through Bosnia and Herzegovina' is distinguished by valuable chapters of an historical character. Bukharoff's 'La Russie et la Turquie' gives a good sketch of the relations of these two countries in the two last centuries. Schmeidler's 'Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches im letzten Jahrzehend' is a timely work, although it is pronounced not fully adequate. Of other books relating to Eastern Europe the most noteworthy are Klaczko's 'Deux Chanceliers' and Ruppell's 'Polen um die Mitte des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts'; the eminent historian of Poland has depicted the causes of the downfall of the nation with great vigor and truthfulness. Here may also be mentioned Howorth's 'History of the Mongols,' and here, too, the death of Franz Palacky, the venerable historiographer of Bohemia, whose great work had reached its fifth volume, at the union of Bohemia with Austria.

—There is a good deal in the field of ancient history. For Egypt, the first volume of Maspéro's 'Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient' is pronounced a work of the highest merit; the first volume of the 'Histoire d'Égypte,' by the eminent Egyptologist Brugsch-Bey, comes down to the end of the Hysesos period. Lenormant, attracted from his old field by Schliemann's discoveries, has published 'Les antiquités de la Troade, et les antiquités primitives de la Grèce.' In classic history there is a volume from each of Clason and Ihne in their respective histories of Rome. Clason's posthumous volume brings his continuation of Schwegler's encyclopædic work down to the year B.C. 328, so that this great work is still unfinished. We have before mentioned the general histories of Greece and Rome by Cox and Merivale. The fifth volume of Duruy's 'Histoire des Romains' completes the work. Ernst Curtius has published a volume of essays and addresses under the title 'Alterthum und Gegenwart.' Not a classical history, but covering a classical period, is the third volume of Stanley's 'History of the Jewish Church,' reaching from the Captivity to the Christian Era.

—For the Middle Age we have some very important works of erudition, chief among them the *Jahrbücher*; of Louis the Pious, by Simson (Vol. II.), of Otto the Great, by Dümmler, and of Henry II., by Hirsch. Pottast's 'Regesta' of the popes is also finished, covering the thirteenth century. The great collection of chronicles of German cities goes on, embracing now Nuremberg (five volumes), Augsburg (two), Strassburg (two), Brunswick (one), Magdeburg (one), and Cologne (two). This year and the last have seen three volumes of Waitz's great 'Verfassungs-Geschichte.' In the field of constitutional law we have the first volume of Fustel de Coulanges's 'Histoire des institutions politiques de l'ancienne France.' America has also contributed a valuable work in 'Essays on Anglo-Saxon

Law,' by Prof. Adams, of Harvard, and his students. Hefele's 'Concilien-geschichte' is completed in seven volumes, and a revised edition of the earlier volumes has begun. He has ended with the councils of the fifteenth century, on the ground that materials are not yet ready for writing a history of the Council of Trent. These materials, by the way, are in preparation by the distinguished Döllinger, the second edition of whose 'Unge-drückte Berichte, etc.', has just appeared. Werner's 'Bonifacius' we have already mentioned. The 'Life of Bertrand du Guesclin,' by Simeon Luce, brings the career of this hero down to 1363.

—Of national histories the most important is perhaps the completion of Freeman's 'Norman Conquest.' For the same period we have Skene's 'History of Ancient Alban,' the first volume of which treats of the history and ethnography to the death of Alexander III. (1285). Mary, Queen of Scots, finds new defenders in Chantelauze ('Marie Stuart') and Gauthier ('Histoire de Marie Stuart'). Mr. Brewer's 'Calendar of State Papers' under Henry VIII. has another valuable volume; it was feared that the editor's acceptance of a living in the country would interfere with its continuation, but we understand that satisfactory engagements have been made for it by Sir Thomas Hardy. There is another volume, too, of Mrs. Green's 'Calendar' for the period of the Commonwealth. Reumont's 'Geschichte Toscanas' has found an English translator. The fifth volume of Carlson's 'Geschichte Schwedens' comes down to the death of Charles XI., pronounced a period of decay, although the decay was first clearly visible under his son. Konrad Maurer's 'Island' is a work of the highest scientific value. A new history of Austria by Krones has reached its eighth number and the fourteenth century. J. G. Droysen's 'Geschichte der preussischen Politik' (Vol. V., Part 2) covers the period between the treaties of Breslau (1742) and Dresden (1745).

—Of more general nature are Richard Rothe's lectures on Church History, edited by Weingarten; Lorenz's 'Drei Bücher Geschichte und Politik,' a collection of essays chiefly upon the XIIIth and XIVth centuries; Lindsay's 'History of Merchant Shipping' (four volumes), which is now complete; Stephens's 'History of Thought in the Eighteenth Century'; and the translation of Comte's 'Social Dynamics.' Of historical biographies, the most important is that of Lord Shelburne; besides this, there are the lives of Macaulay and Ticknor, Martin's 'Life of the Prince Consort,' and Morse's 'Life of Hamilton.' The republication of Fortescue's 'De Laudibus Legum Angliæ,' by Robert Clarke of Cincinnati, deserves mention. The several 'Epochs' series have received new and valuable additions. Menke's new edition of 'Spruner's Historical Atlas' has reached its sixteenth number. A slight disagreement is understood to have arisen between the editor (Dr. Menke) and the publisher (Perthes), who seems unduly anxious that it be speedily completed. A new Historical Atlas by Wolff, designed for the general public, is to contain nineteen maps in four numbers. Two numbers have already been issued.

#### THE EARL OF ALBEMARLE.\*

A PLEASANT life is that of the excellent nobleman who has given us the lively story of it in the comely volume described below. But, instead of "fifty years" of his life, Lord Albemarle might have better said "seventy years," as some of the most interesting circumstances which he narrates happened as long ago as 1806. It was about that time that he—then a boy of seven years old—and his brother played trap-ball in the garden of St. Anne's Hill with Charles James Fox. The great orator was then unable to walk from dropsy, and, consequently, always had the "innings"—which he enjoyed but for brief intervals in his political career—while the other children (for he was the youngest of them all) did the bowling and fagging out. And it was not much later that he became the playfellow and friend of the Princess Charlotte, when he had the honor of receiving "facers" from the little fists of the royal hoyden in her sparring fancies, and her riding-whip across his shoulders when he had brought a scolding upon her for one of her pranks. But then she made amends by presents of watch and pony and pocket money out of her slender allowance, together with good advice, such as became the maturity of twelve years when addressing nine. Altogether, the glimpse he gives us of the childhood of the poor little princess, who had small comfort of her short life, is a pleasant one, and shows qualities which would have stood "the Daughter of the Isles" in good stead had she lived to be their queen.

The childish intimacy between Lord Albemarle and the princess was owing to his grandmother, Lady De Clifford, being the governess of her Royal Highness. This post she resigned because the Prince Regent broke

his promise of secrecy as to some confidential communication of hers. Being asked by him the reason of her leaving his service on such short notice, the old lady replied, "Because your Royal Highness has taught me the distinction between the word of honor of a prince and a gentleman!" The sequel was equally characteristic of the "First Gentleman in Europe." He sent her a special royal command to a party at Carlton House, which we believe makes attendance all but obligatory. She was doubtful as to what she should do under the circumstances, but was induced to go. The prince showed why he had invited her by turning his back upon her ostentatiously before the whole company. Lord Albemarle tells interesting stories of another most famous lady whom George IV. treated worse yet, and whom Horne Tooke called in print Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales—Mrs. Fitzherbert, to wit. This was, perhaps, the one honorable love which that royal profligate ever had. He risked the loss of his crown by marrying her in defiance of the Royal Marriage Act and of the Act of Settlement, she being a Catholic; and he was buried with her miniature round his neck, which it appeared that he had always worn since their separation, nearly forty years before.

Young Keppel, like most of his rank, was passed through the fire of the Moloch of a public school education, which has been so strange a superstition of the English higher classes for centuries. That the belief in the virtue of the brutalities of masters and of the elder boys, the floggings by the one and the exaction of menial service by savage cruelty of the other, to make little boys manly, should have endured so long, is one of the anomalies of English human nature. More than a century and a half ago the *Spectator* denounced the barbarities of the public schools as more apt to break than to strengthen the spirit of the boys. But they have endured, with perhaps some mitigation, unto this day. From school, young Keppel took the next step in life usual for youthful sprigs of nobility not intended for the university, and received his commission as ensign in the Fourteenth Foot before he was sixteen. He served but one campaign, but that one was the complement and the quintessence of many others—that of Waterloo. His account of the scenes previous to the battle, of the battle itself, and of the occupation of Paris and its humors, remind one of Thackeray in 'Vanity Fair.' Though he does not mention Becky Sharp and Rawdon Crawley, there is not the least doubt that they were there. Returned to London, he had his last sight of the Princess Charlotte at the Chapel Royal, on an occasion just before her marriage. Her quick eyes, under her hands joined over them in edifying devotion, soon spied her old playfellow out, and made telegraphic signals at him as in the old days of childhood; and after service, as he stood looking for her at the corner of the street, she kissed and waved her hand to him as long as she was in sight.

The opportunities which young Keppel had of seeing the world and the amount of it which he did see was astonishing in those days before universal travel, and remarkable even in these. From Paul and Virginia's Isle of France he went to India, thence overland by Persia, visiting Bagdad and Babylon, returning through Russia home. Of this journey he published an account entitled an 'Overland Journey from India,' which gave him admission to literary circles not before open to him. Afterwards he made a tour through Turkey in Europe, with an excursion into Asia Minor, which he published as his 'Journey across the Balkan.' Thus the excellent author lived on in various activities, coming into his title at past fifty, but having enjoyed it for more than a quarter of a century. He is not, happily for himself and for us, a great man, but he is a very pleasant teller of his story, and is never tedious in the telling. He has known celebrities of all ranks and conditions—military, political, literary, and fashionable—and likes to tell what he has known of them. The days of the Regency and of George IV. were not virtuous days, nor will we affirm that these are much better than those; but there were more lively scandals and more gossiping anecdotes afloat then, that have had specific levity enough to keep on the surface of talk for fifty years, than these more decorous Victorian times are likely to provide for posterity. London has grown too great for social celebrities, good and bad, such as flourished then. Brummel would be an impossibility now, and so is Almack's. There are now exclusive circles enough, but there is no one exclusive society like that of which Lady Jersey held the key, and to which high birth did not command admission and from which low birth did not necessarily exclude. The fantastic, indefinable, but despotic power of fashion has no longer the sway in the sense or in the degree that it held fifty or sixty years ago. Crowds have smothered it. Those were times when men fought duels, and ran away with one another's wives, and ruined themselves at Crockford's. There were dandies in those days, and they lounged in Bond Street, now as desolate as Baker Street or Tadmor in the Wilderness, as far as fashion is con-

\* 'Fifty Years of my Life.' By George Thomas, Earl of Albemarle. New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1876.



cerned. The dandies are no more, and the swells have not made their place good. The Marquis of Steyne himself has been gone for five-and-thirty years, and it is to be hoped that the Thackeray of the next age will be puzzled to find his successor. We do not say that the later days are better or worse than the former ones. It is likely that substantially they are much alike. But the former were the racier of the two, and amuse us as we doubt whether our successors will be amused by the latter. As the innkeeper said to Yorick on another occasion, there may not be any great difference as to the sins, but there will be all the difference in the world as to the scandals. Lord Albemarle is much more entertaining than Mr. Greville, without the malignity and brutality of that writer. His readers will not find themselves entrapped into moral, political, or philosophical reflections, or into the slightest attempt to make them wiser or better; with which commendation—the highest that we know of in such a case—we dismiss his book with the advice to all and singular to buy and read it.

*Herzegovina and the Late Uprising.* By W. J. Stillman. (London: Longmans, Green & Co.)—Mr. Stillman was correspondent of the *London Times* in Herzegovina and Montenegro in the fall of 1875 and the following winter, bringing to his work the experience of irregular warfare and of Turkish character and methods of administration acquired while American consul in Crete during the insurrection in that island in 1866-8. His book is made up partly of his letters and partly of memoranda of matters which came to his knowledge under a seal of temporary confidence, or which, for other reasons, it would have been at the time improper to communicate to a newspaper. He spent his time partly in Montenegro and partly in the insurrectionary districts, either with the insurgents or the Turks, observing closely, and evidently, in spite of his strong sympathy with the rebels, quite ready to give the Turks any credit that was due to them—which, to tell the truth, was not much. He saw but little fighting because there was very little to see, and, indeed, his book is rather a description of a state of things than a narrative of events. The rising was begun, in the usual way, by refugees from Turkish violence, and it lasted with varying fortune, mainly owing to Turkish incompetency, until, first, Russian sympathy and support were assured, and then the attention of Europe was attracted and the diplomatists began to interfere. It consisted in the main of skirmishes, which were always bloody in proportion to the force engaged, in plunderings, burnings, and murders; the Turks, on the whole, getting the worst of it in the armed encounters, but getting their revenge in devastation. In fact, as a military operation, the Herzegovina insurrection amounted to nothing; as a disturbance, however, it amounted to a great deal, for by drawing Serbia and Montenegro into the field, it brought Europe once more face to face with the most serious question of modern international politics.

Mr. Stillman's opinions about the Turks are well known. He believes them as rulers irredeemably cruel, vicious, inefficient, and dishonest, through whom no reform can possibly be carried out, whose promises are not to be believed, and to whom it is a burning shame that any Christian population should be left in subjection. He therefore proposes that, if anything is to be done for the salvation of the poor Christians in Herzegovina, it should be done through Christian administrators—the Austrians, for instance, who have been accustomed to command on the Military Frontier, or Anglo-Indian officers, who have had just the kind of experience Turkey needs. He thinks a mixed representative government, half Turk, half Christian, would be useless, because the Turks would have it all their own way, and would enforce "the previous question" in debate by strangling their brother legislators; and the "autonomy" of the newly-emancipated rayahs, he thinks, would be simply a species of Carpet-baggery—that is, the rule of an ignorant mass by a parcel of imported demagogues. The reason why he does not believe the Turk will improve is that, in so far as he is bad, he is bad not as a Turk but as a Mussulman; or, in other words, he is bad in virtue of what he regards as his highest good—in all of which we cordially agree with Mr. Stillman. His illustrations of Turkish incapacity for reform, or rather of Turkish "reform within the party," are amusing but horrid. Judicial pursuits into crime seldom go farther than a "report," and "to make a report" is, in the eyes of Turkish officials, to do sufficient justice. Mr. Stillman had more than once the novel, but always exciting, experience of hearing discussions about the fitness and pleasurable of cutting off his head.

*Ancient Streets and Homesteads of England.* By Alfred Rimmer. With 150 illustrations from drawings by the author. (London and New

York: Macmillan & Co. 1877.)—Dean Howson, in his suggestive introduction to this work, after quoting from a letter of Mr. Henry James's to the *Nation* concerning Chester, remarks that his pleasure in recommending Mr. Rimmer's book "is very much increased by the reflection, that American readers are likely to take the warmest interest in the visible reminiscences of history in which the country that they recognize as their motherland still abounds." Whatever may have been the publishers' experience on this point, we are sure that the dean was not mistaken, and commercially we are inclined to think that Mr. Rimmer would have done well to keep an American audience directly in mind. One effect of this would have been to improve the volume even for his countrymen. Writing for them, for example, he does not think it superfluous to indicate somewhat particularly the location of some of the places he mentions. For American readers he might have employed a sketch map showing all the places, famous and obscure. This would have had an additional advantage from the fact that Mr. Rimmer, though contriving to include nearly every county in England, has failed to observe a strict geographical sequence in his progress. In fact, the way in which he skips about without warning must be exasperating even to an English reader. One-third of the interest of such a book as this is lost if the antiquities are not clearly assigned to their proper place on the map, and we defy any one to rise from reading Mr. Rimmer with a distinct notion of county peculiarities.

Mr. Rimmer's course, so far as he can be said to have one, begins at Chester and proceeds through the western counties to the southern, thence west eastwardly, thence northeasterly *ad libitum*, and then into the interior. Berks is reserved for another series; Cambridge for a third; and a fourth will be given to gateways and their history. This being the case, it is to be hoped that the author, who is evidently not a born book-maker, will meantime accept friendly advice as to his literary style. One of his most curious defects is referring to what has not gone before as if it had been mentioned; another, not a little annoying, is his unconscious repetitions. Thus, on p. 149, he tells us that "the college [at Oxford] that is perhaps the most beloved by Englishmen is Magdalen, owing to its spirited opposition to the attempts which James II. made to tyrannize over its authorities and rights." On p. 153 we are informed that "the interest in Magdalen College is from its sturdy resistance to James II. when he decided," etc. A more important criticism relates to Mr. Rimmer's exposition of his architectural principles, since he is constantly holding up this or that style or detail or mode of construction for imitation at the present day. In the main we gather that his feeling is right, but that his ideas are confused and ill thought out. His illustrations can seldom be accused of having been chosen for their mere picturesqueness; and, on the other hand, mere antiquity has not governed their selection. They have, as a rule, a practical value for architects and builders, and we may instance the oblique gables in Warwick, pictured on p. 234 and accompanied by a clear enough explanation of "the way in which an acute-angled street may be made to contain rectangular rooms on an upper story." The American way of doing it may be seen in Rose Street in this city, where the fronts of the houses are parallel to each other and not to the street, saw fashion.

Stowed away between these covers with little skill and method is a good deal of useful information, especially in illustration of Shakspeare's historical plays. We learn of Derbyshire (p. 240) that "the title of the Earls of Derby is not derived from any part of this county, as has been supposed, but from the hundred of West Derby, near Liverpool." Newark Castle (p. 227), "of course *new work*, gave the name to the town"; Beverley (p. 28) "was at one time surrounded by lakes that were formed by the overflowing of the Humber, and its name is said to be derived from Beaver Lake, as at one time these animals were very abundant in this part of Yorkshire." (*Meadow or forest glade* is the true meaning of the suffix *-ley*.) As "the making of *pomfret* cakes forms quite an industry among the natives of Pontefract," it is fair to suppose (what is the truth) that this is the popular pronunciation of the name of the place, which has been literally retained in our Pomfret (Conn.). On p. 299 we read that in Carlisle is still noticeable the type of the Flemings colonized there by William Rufus; and again:

"The singular way in which a type of feature is preserved from generation to generation is certainly exhibited in Chester, in the Roman character of many of the features of the country people near the city. This has never been noticed, as far as I know, and it was only in looking over a collection of Roman coins that it occurred to me. These characteristics are especially to be noticed in the coins of Hadrian, or Claudius, or Agricola—a full neck, a Roman nose, and strongly-marked features; indeed, nobody can go through the Chester market on a Saturday and observe the various types of feature without being struck with these peculiarities in the Cheshire women."

*Historical Biographies.* Edited by Rev. M. Creighton, M.A. Life of Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, by M. Creighton, M.A., pp. 222. Life of Edward the Black Prince, by Louise Creighton, pp. 230. (London: Rivingtons, 1876.)—Mr. Creighton's series of biographies makes, if we count aright, the seventh series of brief histories now in course of publication in England—a remarkable proof of the interest felt in historical studies and the thoroughness with which they are cultivated. The lives announced are, besides the two already published, those of Raleigh, Cromwell, Marlborough, and Wellington. The object of the series is to aid in emphasizing what we may call the personal element in history, an element often undervalued in these days of "tendencies" and evolution. And however far it may be true that the greatest men are but blind instruments of irresistible forces, their careers and achievements are after all the best means of exciting interest and inculcating the lessons of history.

The lives of Montfort and the Black Prince are well and attractively related. We question the judgment which takes the Black Prince as a typical character, or as a hero to be placed before the young. He was, no doubt, "the bravest warrior of that age," but we cannot call that commander "a skilful general" who placed himself in a situation from which he could be extricated only by the desperate victory of Poitiers, and who allowed himself to be tempted, for no sufficient cause, into the unwarrantable Spanish campaign. So with his personal character. He had marked virtues in his relations with those of his own class; but we protest against any extenuation of the massacre of Limoges, on the oft-repeated ground that he was "on a level with the morality of his day." The model knight should have been above the average morality of his day; but even this average morality, as set forth in Froissart, condemned this massacre. The maps are not what we are accustomed to of late years. That in the life of the Black Prince is quite good; in the other volume the map of England is fair, that of Europe unsatisfactory. Aquitaine is given as if it were a province north of Guyenne. Germany is made to extend east to the Vistula, and, indeed, for all that appears, comprises Denmark as well; Florence is given as the capital of Tuscany, and all Southern Italy in this period is reckoned as Apulia. In the body of the work (p. 69), Gascony is said to be "the only one of the great continental possessions of Henry II. which still remained in the hands of his descendants," but Gascony was only a province of Aquitaine.

*Inventional Geometry.* By W. G. Spencer, with a prefatory note by Herbert Spencer. (New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1877. pp. 97.)—*A Short Geography.* First Part: The Hemispheres. By E. Roth. (Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger, 1876. Pp. 52.)—*Algebra Self-Taught.* By W. P. Higgs. (London and New York: E. & F. N. Spon. 1876. Pp. 104.)—We have named these books in the order of their probable usefulness. They have nothing in common except brevity and directness. The first is an elaborate and desperate attempt to rescue the study of geometry from the treadmill of routine which has degraded it into being the driest and most tedious of school drudgeries. No study is inherently better adapted than geometry to feed and stimulate the inventive faculty; but, as now taught, instead of arousing inventiveness, memory, the opposite faculty, is alone set to work. The author of the 'Inventional Geometry' before us is Herbert Spencer's father. He has collected nearly five hundred problems or questions, extending from the simplest observation, as "Show how many faces a cube has," to mechanical applications of conic sections. This is a very steep ascent to be achieved in one hundred pages, and it must be confessed that the steps are unequal, and that some of them are too long. Many of the single questions would constitute a lesson apiece; and we wish we could be certain that some of them are not even too long for a single lesson. Still, a sympathetic teacher would know how to give out the lessons, and, if we were school-boys, we should wish to have this book assigned to us, and run the risk of excessive lessons, with the certainty that the good results would be permanent.

The 'Short Geography' seems to be merely an attempt to facilitate the memorizing of elementary map-questions by judicious grouping. Its preface is as sensible as it is distinct: "Topography, or a knowledge of maps, is the chief end of geography. The way to learn well is to learn one thing at a time, and that thoroughly. The way to learn geography well is to learn all you can from one map before quitting it for another. Motto of this little work—one map to one book," etc.

The 'Algebra Self-Taught' is adapted to an ideal student. We should not know where to look for him.

## BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Freeman (E. A.), *The Turks in Europe*, swd. (Lovell, Adam, Wesson & Co.)  
Globe Encyclopedia, Part 3, swd. (Estes & Lauriat) 40 50  
Kiepert (Dr. H.), *Atlas Antiquus*, bds. (E. Steiger)  
Kirby (W.), *Le Chien d'Or: a Tale*. (Lovell, Adam, Wesson & Co.) 2 00

### Chauncey Wright's Philosophical Discussions.

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Large assortments of the publications of Charpentier, Didier, Didot, Hachette, Lévy Frères, etc., on hand; also complete lists of Tauchnitz's Collection of British Authors, and Teubner's Greek and Roman Classics. All European periodicals received weekly in parcels.



